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ABSTRACT

This paper describes and analyzes the demographic characteristics of the Pre-Mariel Cuban American population living in the United States as presented in the 1980 U.S. Census of the Population. Information is not provided for the Mariel entrants, who began arriving from Cuba on April 21, 1980, because the data were derived from a one-in-a-thousand sample of the total U.S. population as determined on April 1, 1980. The analysis is separated into two divisions. In the first section, the United States is considered as a whole. The nation's residents of Cuban descent (803,226) are compared to those of Mexican (8,740,439), Puerto Rican (2,013,945), and "Other Spanish" (3,051,063) origin, as well as to non-Hispanics. Factors examined include the following: (1) numbers and place of residence; (2) physiological characteristics; (3) spatial mobility and citizenship; (4) language abilities; (5) labor force characteristics; (6) income patterns; (7) social attributes; and (8) socioeconomic rank. These comparisons provide an understanding of the demographic context in which Cubans are living in the United States. In the second section, the Pre-Mariel Cuban American population is classified and compared according to the following areas of residence: (1) Florida; (2) the combined areas of New Jersey and New York; and (3) the rest of the United States. Statistical data are included on 26 tables and six graphs. A list of 66 endnotes are also included. The appendix includes a discussion of the methodology used in the ranking system. (FMW)

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Research Institute for Cuban Studies

Instituto Superior de Estudios Cubanos

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF PRE-MARIEL CUBANS LIVING IN THE UNITED STATES: 1980

Thomas D. Boswell
and
Manuel Rivero

Guarione M. Diaz
Editor

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INSTITUTE OF INTERAMERICAN STUDIES

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI
CORAL GABLES, FLORIDA

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Founded in 1972, the Cuban American National Council, Inc. is a non-profit agency funded through grants, donations, and contracts. Its goal is to provide social services and aid for the persons in need in the United States. Recently, it changed its name from the Cuban National Planning Council, Inc. Although it maintains offices in several cities in the United States, its home office is located in Miami, Florida. The following study was conducted by the Cuban American National Council.

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THE DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF PRE-MARIEL CUBANS LIVING IN THE UNITED STATES: 1980

Thomas D. Boswell
and
Manuel Rivero

Guarione M. Diaz, Editor

INTRODUCTION

This paper describes and analyzes the demographic characteristics of the Pre-Mariel Cuban-American population living in the United States as enumerated in the 1980 U.S. Census of Population. The principal source of information for this study has been the 1980 Public-Use Microdata Sample A computer tape for the United States.(1) These data were derived from a one-in-a-thousand sample of the total U.S. population as determined on April 1, 1980. Because of this date, information is not provided for the Mariel entrants, who began arriving from Cuba on April 21, 1980. This paper supplements an earlier one written for the state of Florida's Pre-Mariel Cubans.(2) This analysis of the United States Cuban-American population will be separated into two divisions. In the first, the United States will be considered as a whole. This nation's residents of Cuban descent (803,226) will be compared to those of Mexican (8,740,439), Puerto Rican (2,013,945), and "Other Spanish" origin (3,051,063), as well as to those of persons who are not of Spanish descent.(3) These comparisons will provide an understanding of the demographic context in which Cubans are living in the United States.

In the second division of this paper, the Pre-Mariel Cuban-American population will be classified according to three areas of residence: (1) those living in the state of Florida, (2) those residing in the combined areas of New Jersey and New York, and (3) those living in the rest of the United States. Several studies using

either survey or census data for periods prior to 1980 have noted significant differences between the Cuban-Americans living in the three areas being used in this study.(4) According to the results of the 1980 U.S. Census of Population, 58.5 percent of all Cuban-Americans lived in Florida, making it the state with the largest Cuban-American population by far. New Jersey and New York had the next-largest Cuban populations, with 10.1 and 9.6 percent, respectively.(5) Since the majority of both New Jersey's and New York's Cuban populations live within the metropolitan area of New York City, the two states' Cuban descent residents are combined under the assumption that they are similar in their demographic characteristics.(6) Given the small sample proportion of one-in-a-thousand, the sample sizes for New Jersey and New York would be too small to be statistically significant if they were considered separately for some of the crosstabulations that will be performed in this analysis.

COMPARISONS BETWEEN PRE-MARIEL CUBANS AND MEXICANS, PUERTO RICANS, OTHER SPANISH, AND NON-HISPANICS LIVING IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1980

This division of the paper will compare the demographic characteristics of the various components of the United States Hispanic population. The Hispanic groups will also be contrasted to the non-Hispanic population living in the United States. These comparisons will consider: (1) the numbers and geographic concentrations of the four Hispanic population components, (2) their physiological attributes, (3) mobility and citizenship characteristics, (4) language abilities, (5) labor force characteristics, (6) income patterns, (7) social attributes, and (8) their relative socioeconomic status (ranks). The 1980 Population Census indicated that 14.6 million persons of Spanish (Hispanic) origin were living in the United States. This number equaled 6.4 percent of the country's total population and represented its second-largest minority behind blacks, who represented 11.8 percent. Only six countries

have larger Hispanic populations than the United States. Furthermore, the numerical and social importance of Hispanic-Americans will increase in the future. Between 1970 and 1980 the number of persons of Spanish origin in the United States increased by sixty-one percent (Table 1). During this same period, the population of the non-Spanish descent increased by about nine percent. Because the proportion of U.S. blacks has remained relatively stable (between 9.7 and 11.9 percent) since 1890, some researchers predict that within the next several decades Hispanics will outnumber blacks.(7) In fact, the Population Reference Bureau estimates that if Latin American immigration to the U.S. were to continue at its current rate, Hispanics could number approximately 47 million and comprise 15 percent of the nation's total population by the year 2020, displacing blacks as the country's largest minority.(8)

In order to determine the characteristics of the Hispanic population components and those of the non-Hispanics, use has been made of the seventh question asked on the 1980 Census of Population questionnaire. It inquired whether or not individuals considered themselves to be of Spanish-Hispanic origin or descent.(9) On the basis of answers to this question all individuals were classified as being in one of the following categories: (1) not of Spanish-Hispanic descent, (2) Mexican, Mexican-American, or Chicano, (3) Puerto Rican, (4) Cuban, and (5) Other Spanish-Hispanic.(10) Thus, the individuals being questioned categorized themselves. A person who considered himself-herself to be of Spanish descent may or may not have been born in a foreign country. For instance, the population of Cuban descent includes all individuals who consider themselves to be of Cuban origin, whether or not they were born in Cuba. Thus, persons born in Cuba plus all subsequent generations of their American-born progeny are considered as being Cuban-Americans, as long as they consider themselves as being such.(11)

Table 1

Spanish Origin Population Living in the United States, 1970 and 1980

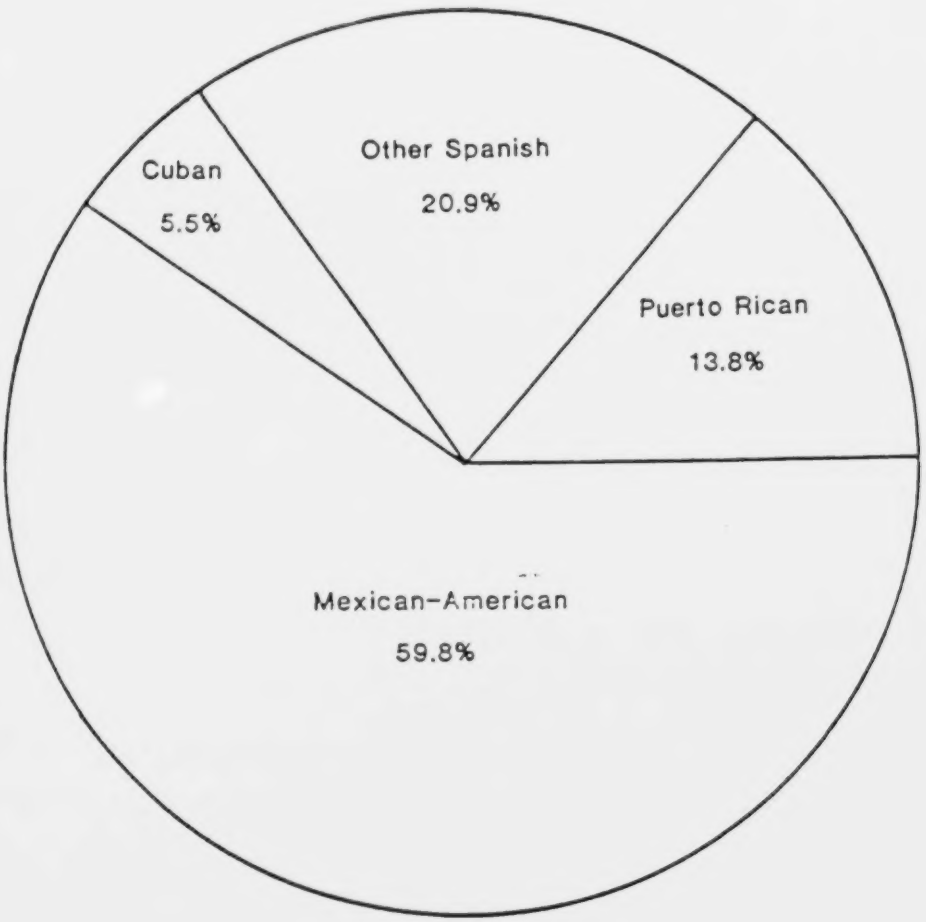
Category	Number		Percentages	
	1970	1980	1970	1980
Total Population	203,211,926	226,545,805	100.0	100.0
Spanish Origin	9,072,602	14,608,673	4.5	6.4
Not of Spanish Origin	194,139,324	211,937,132	95.5	93.6
Spanish Origin			100.0	100.0
Mexican Descent	4,532,435	8,740,439	50.0	59.8
Puerto Rican Descent	1,429,396	2,013,945	15.8	13.8
Cuban Descent*	544,600	803,226	6.0	5.5
Other Spanish**	2,566,171	3,051,063	28.3	20.9

*The figure for Cubans does not include approximately 125,000 refugees who arrived shortly after the 1980 Census enumeration.

**This category includes the rest of the population of Spanish descent, who come from all the other countries that have experienced a predominantly Spanish colonial heritage.

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, 1980 Census of Population, "Persons of Spanish Origin by State: 1980," Supplementary Report, PC80-s1-7 (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Census, August 1982), p. 2.

Figure 1. Distribution of Spanish-Origin Population in the United States, by Source of Origin: 1980



Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, 1981. "Persons of Spanish Origin by State: 1980." Supplementary Report, PC80-81-7, p. 2.

Number and Place of Residence

Numbers of Each Hispanic Component. -- The data in Table 1 and in Figure 1 clearly illustrate that Pre-Mariel Cubans represent the smallest component of the four major classes of Hispanics living in the United States. Even when the 125,000 Mariel refugees are added to the total number of Cubans listed in the 1980 Census, the picture is not appreciably altered. Still, there are almost ten times as many Mexican-Americans and over twice as many Puerto Ricans living in the United States. The figure representing the number of Other Spanish, however, is more difficult to interpret because this category is actually a composite of several notable Hispanic nationality groups living in this country. For instance, slightly over half of the Hispanics living in the state of New Mexico and approximately 37 percent of those living in Colorado classify themselves as being Other Spanish. Most of these people trace their ancestry to the early Spanish exploration and settlement of the upper Rio Grande Valley, the portion which runs through the center of New Mexico and south central Colorado. Because of the former historical ties that this area had with Mexico, these people are often mistakenly assumed to be Mexican-Americans. When allowed to classify themselves, however, they prefer to be referred to as being Hispanos.(12) In fact, an earlier study using 1970 Census figures has determined that not only do these people consider themselves to be different, but they also exhibit significantly different demographic characteristics when compared to the other three classes of Hispanics.(13) Once the Hispanos have been subtracted from the Other Spanish class, the remaining persons are still of diverse nationality backgrounds. Most of those who are foreign-born have come from the following countries: Colombia, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Ecuador, Peru, Venezuela, Argentina, Spain, and the Philippines.(14) When the number of Cuban-Americans is compared to any of these single-nationality groups

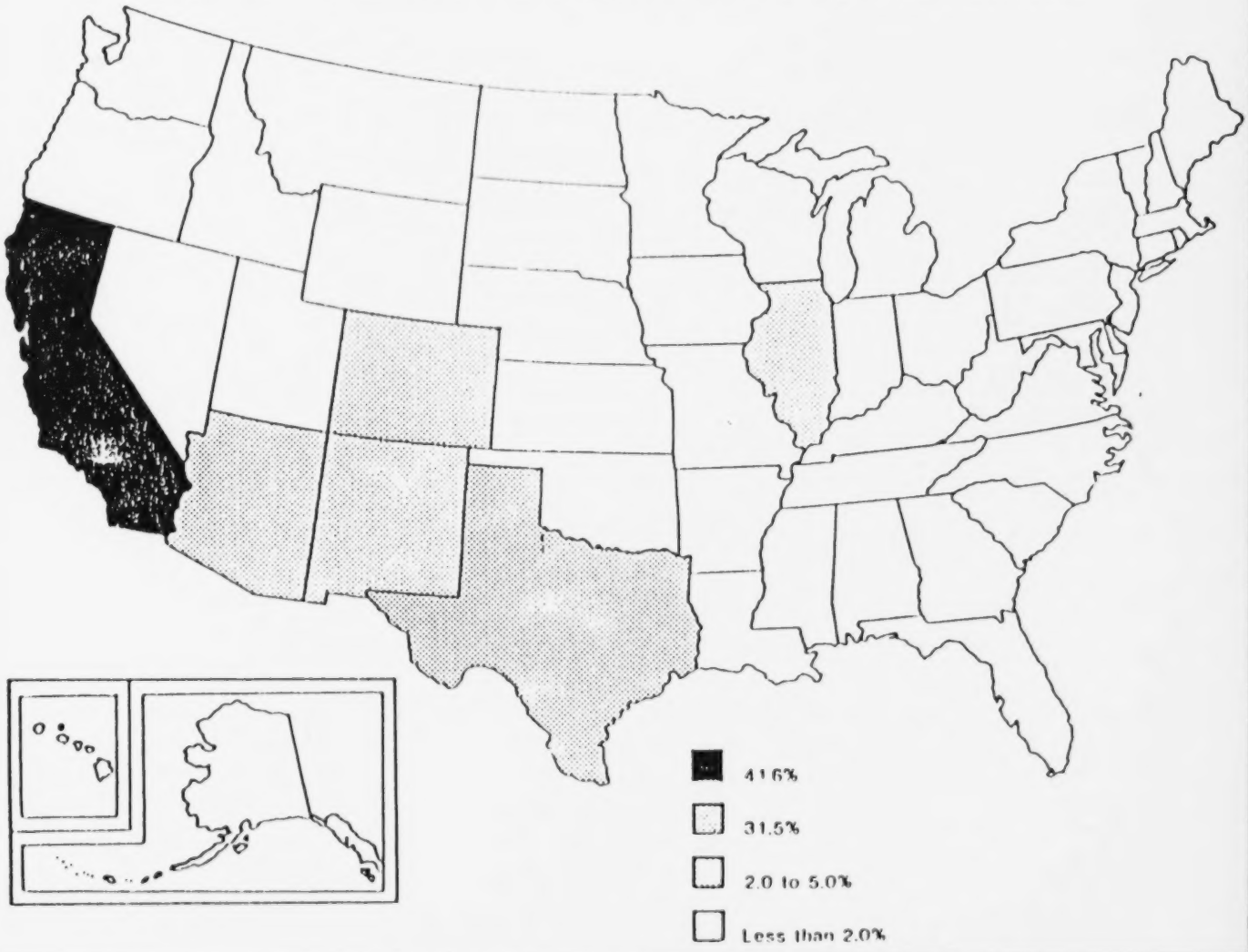
(as well as to the Hispanos) it is clear that in reality, the Cubans represent the third most-numerous group of Hispanics living in this country.(15)

State of Residence. – Today, every state in the United States has at least a few residents who would fall into each of the four categories of Hispanics being used in this analysis. On the other hand, it is also correct to state that the distributions of each component is far from even. In fact, each exhibits a considerable degree of geographical concentration in specific states. Furthermore, these locational concentrations are significantly different for each of the four groups.

Mexican-Americans are concentrated in the southwestern United States (Figure 2). In fact, 73.1 percent are found in the two states of California (41.6%) and Texas (31.5%) alone. When Arizona, Colorado, and New Mexico are included, the total for the Southwest rises to almost 83 percent. The only state outside of the Southwest to contain more than two percent of the Mexican-American population is Illinois, with 4.7 percent.(16) The concentration of persons of Mexican descent in the Southwest has long been related to its juxtaposition to Mexico and to the types of blue collar jobs available there, originally in agriculture, and later in the manufacturing and construction industries.(17)

The Puerto Ricans who live on the mainland of the United States are concentrated in the Northeast (Figure 3). Almost half (49.0%) reside in the state of New York, with most living within the metropolitan area of New York City. Another twenty-five percent live in the states of New Jersey (12.1%), Pennsylvania (4.6%), Connecticut (4.4%), and Massachusetts (3.8%). The only states outside of the Northeast to contain more than two percent of the mainland Puerto Rican population are Illinois (6.4%), Florida (4.7%), and California (4.6%).(18) The concentration of persons of Puerto Rican descent in the Northeast is tied to the types of jobs that used to be available in manufacturing, and in the restaurant and hotel industries in this area. (19)

Figure 2. Distribution of Mexican-Americans Living in the U.S., 1980



Source: U.S.Bureau of Census, 1980 Census of Population, "Persons of Spanish Origin by State: 1980," Supplementary Report, PC80-s1-7 (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Census, August 1982), p. 12.

Figure 3. Distribution of Puerto Ricans Living in the U.S., 1980

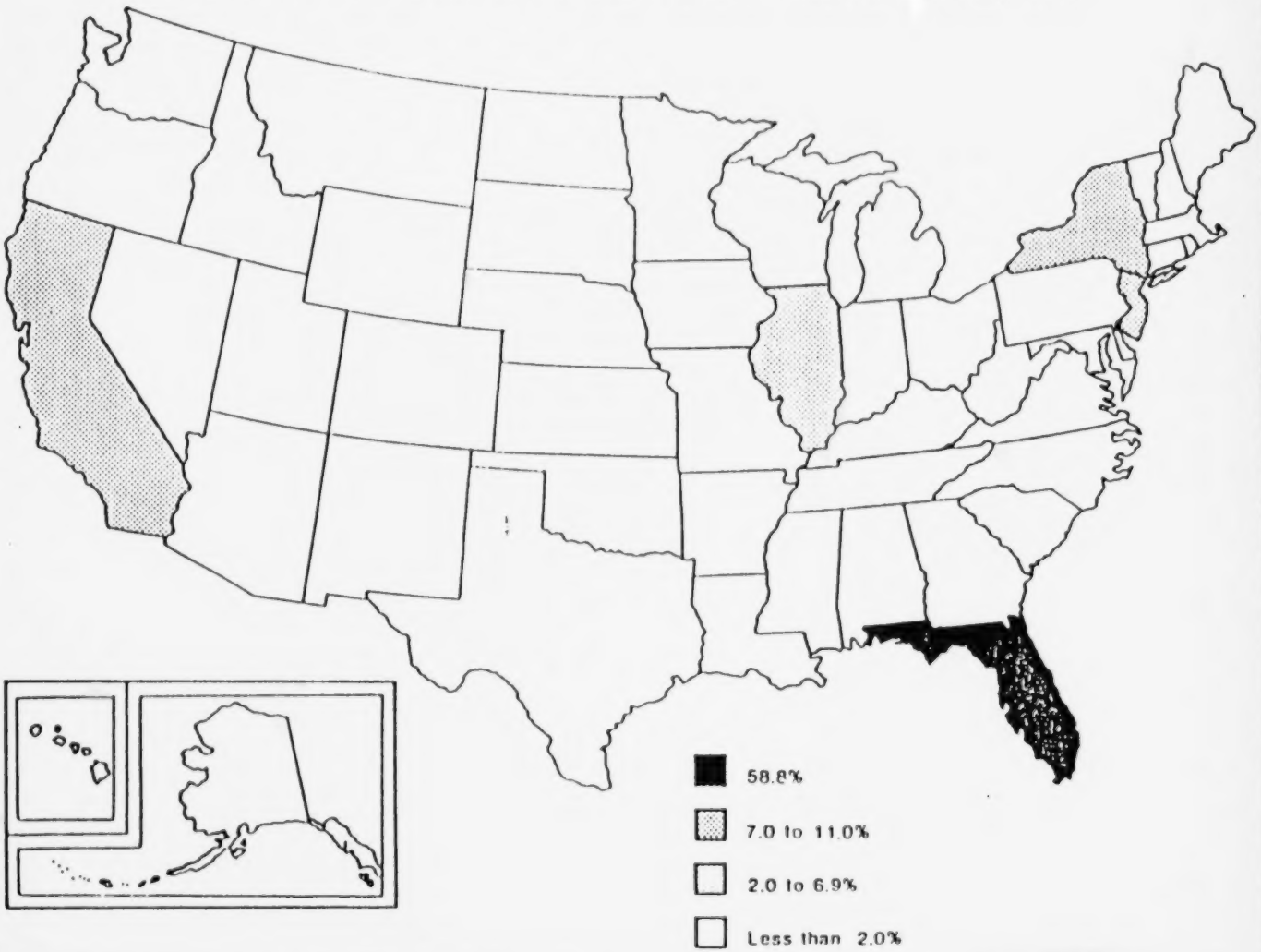
Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, 1980 Census of Population, "Persons of Spanish Origin by State: 1980," Supplementary Report, PC80-s1-7 (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Census, August 1982), p. 13.

As previously stated, 58.5 percent of the Pre-Mariel Cuban-Americans are found in the state of Florida (Figure 4). A secondary concentration (19.7%) is located in the adjacent states of New Jersey and New York. The only other states with more than two percent of the Cubans are California (7.6%) and Illinois (2.4%). Florida dominates primarily because of its nearness to and historical ties with Cuba. New York, New Jersey, and Illinois are secondary favored locations due to the policies of the Cuban refugee resettlement program of the United States government and the availability of jobs in these areas, as well as their histories as serving as ports of entry for other immigrant minorities. California is another preferred residence because of its climate, availability of jobs, and the presence of other Spanish-speaking minorities, especially Mexican-Americans.(20)

The three million persons of Spanish descent who are in the Other Spanish category are more dispersed in their distribution throughout the United States. This pattern reflects their composition of many different Hispanic nationalities. Eight states each contain more than two percent of this population component (Figure 5). In California, which has the largest number (24.7%), there are sizable communities of Salvadorans, Guatemalans, and Nicaraguans. New York is second (18.3%) and has attracted large numbers of Dominicans, Colombians, and Ecuadorans. The Other Spanish located in the states of Florida (7.0%), New Jersey (5.1%), and Illinois (2.6%) are mostly immigrants from Central and South American countries, while it is likely that the majority of the Other Hispanics living in New Mexico (7.9%), Texas (6.4%), and Colorado (4.2%) are Hispanos who preferred not to identify themselves as Mexican Americans in the 1980 Census.(21)

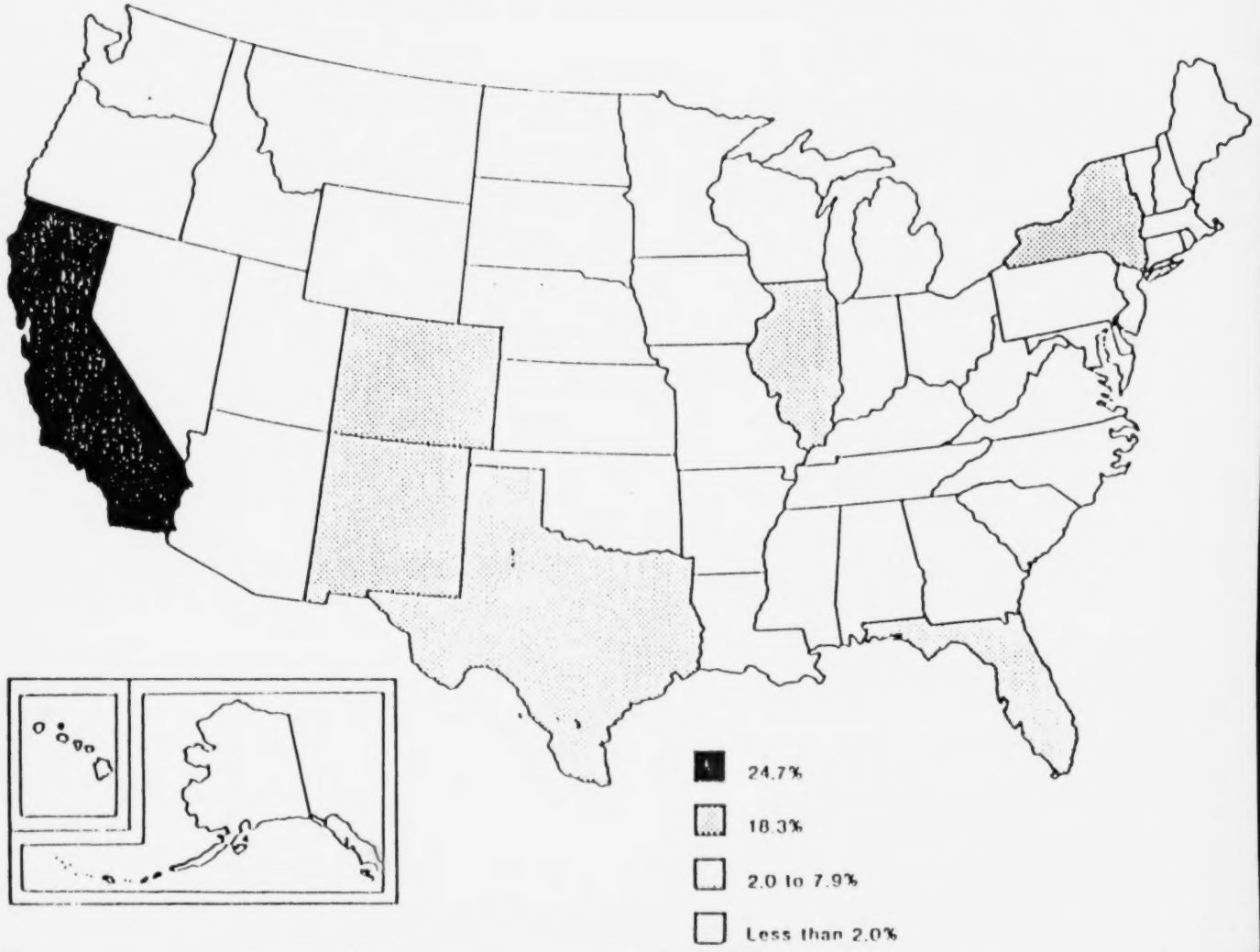
Urban and Rural Residence. -- Data derived during the 1980 United States Population Census indicate that about 74 percent of all Americans lived in urban areas.(22) There are, however, considerable differences among the various

Figure 4. Distribution of Pre-Mariel Cubans Living in the U.S., 1980



Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, 1980 Census of Population, "Persons of Spanish Origin by State: 1980," Supplementary Report, PC80-s1-7 (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Census, August 1982), p. 13.

Figure 5. Distribution of Other Spanish Living in the U.S., 1980



Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, 1980 Census of Population, "Persons of Spanish Origin by State: 1980," Supplementary Report, PC80-s1-7 (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Census, August 1982), p. 12.

components of this population. For instance, approximately 73 percent of the non-Hispanics lived in urban areas, while about 27 percent lived in rural areas (Table 2). When the Hispanics are considered, each of their four major components were characterized by a higher percentage living in urban areas, when compared to the non-Hispanics. For Mexicans, the figure is the lowest, at 88 percent. The highest proportion (98 percent) living in urban areas is for the Cubans, with the Puerto Ricans close behind at 97 percent. The Other Spanish are very similar to the the Mexican-Americans, with 90 percent living in urban loctions. The somewhat lower percentage of Mexicans and Other Spanish living in urban areas reflects their greater tendency to be employed in agricultural pursuits in the Southwest and in certain Middle Western states such as Michigan, Indiana, and Ohio, as well as in Florida. Among the Other Spanish this is particularly true of their Hispano component. Still, it should be noted that even among the Mexicans and Other Spanish, by far their majorities live in cities.

Urbanized Area Residence. – The U.S. Census Bureau defines an urban area as a settlement with a population of 2,500 or more residents. In addition, it has developed the concept of an *Urbanized Area* for metropolitan areas with central cities having populations in excess of 50,000 persons. The purpose of the Urbanized Area concept is to provide information for large metropolitan areas that have expanded beyond the legal limits of their central cities. The figures displayed in Table 2 for Urbanized Areas clearly indicate that the vast majority of each of the four Hispanic population components live not only in urban areas, but overwhelmingly in Urbanized Areas (even more so than non-Hispanics). As a result, it can be stated that not only are the Hispanic-Americans primarily an urban population, but they are concentrated especially in large metropolitan areas. Virtually all the large cities of the Southwest have sizable Mexican-American

Table 2

Spanish Types by Urban and Rural Residence, and by Percent of Urban Population Living in an Urbanized Area (Percentages)

Spanish Type	Percent Living in an Urban Area	Percent Living in a Rural Area	Percent of Urban Population Living in an Urbanized Area
Non-Hispanics	72.6	27.4	82.9
Mexicans	87.6	12.4	83.6
Puerto Ricans	97.0	3.0	97.1
Cubans	97.8	2.2	97.9
Other Spanish	89.6	10.4	90.9

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, 1980 Census of Population, United States Summary, "General Population Characteristics," Part 1, PC80-1-B1 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, May 1983), Table 39.

communities, and the largest minority community in Albuquerque, New Mexico is made up largely of Hispanos. The Puerto Ricans are concentrated especially in the metropolitan area that surrounds New York City and in adjacent large cities in New Jersey, Connecticut, and Long Island. The Cubans are found primarily in the metropolitan area of Miami, Florida and secondarily in the urban area of Union City and West New York in New Jersey, as well as scattered throughout neighborhoods in New York City.

When the United States Urbanized Area population as a whole is considered, about 48 percent live in the central cities of these metropolitan areas, while approximately 52 percent reside mainly in the suburbs or urban fringes.(23) The figures for non-Hispanics are very similar, with about 53 percent living outside the central cities (Table 3). However, with the exception of the Cubans, the patterns displayed for the Hispanics are reversed. Approximately 60 percent of the metropolitan Mexican and Other Spanish populations reside in central cities. For Puerto Ricans the comparable statistic is 77 percent. Only Cubans, among the Hispanics, have more than half (59 percent) their metropolitan population living outside central cities. The higher percentages of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans living in central cities is perhaps attributable to their lower income levels and higher incidence of poverty. The greater suburbanization of Cuban-Americans, conversely, is most likely related to their greater upward economic mobility. On the other hand, the reason that more than half the metropolitan Other Spanish are living in central cities is not readily apparent. Perhaps this is due to the fact that the Other Spanish are a very diverse composite of Hispanic nationalities.

Summary. – To sum up the relative position of Pre-Mariel Cuban-Americans, when compared to the other Hispanic population components, the following statements can be made. First, the Cubans are the third most numerous Hispanic

Table 3

Percentage of Persons Identified as Living in Urbanized Areas (Large Cities) Who Lived Inside and Outside of Central Cities by Spanish Type

Spanish Type	Living Inside a Central City of an Urbanized Area	Living Outside a Central City of an Urbanized Area	Total
Non-Hispanics	46.9	53.1	100.0
Mexicans	61.1	38.9	100.0
Puerto Ricans	76.7	23.3	100.0
Cubans	41.1	58.9	100.0
Other Spanish	58.4	41.6	100.0

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, 1980 Census of Population, United States Summary, "General Population Characteristics," Part 1, PC80-1-B1 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, May 1983), Table 39.

contingent living in the United States, if the Other Spanish are not considered collectively because of their national diversity. Second, Cubans are the only Hispanic component to be mainly concentrated in the state of Florida, especially in the metropolitan area of Miami. The secondary concentration of Pre-Mariel Cubans in the Union City-West New York area of New Jersey and adjacent parts of New York City approximates the primary location of the United States mainland Puerto Rican population. Third, the Cubans are highly urbanized with approximately 98 percent of their population living in urban areas. This figure is similar to that of the Puerto Ricans, but is considerably higher than for either the Mexicans, Other Spanish, or non-Hispanics. Furthermore, almost all urban Cuban-Americans (98 percent) live in large metropolitan areas. On the other hand, despite the fact that most Cubans live in metropolitan areas, more than half reside outside central cities and in the suburbs or urban fringes.

Physiological Characteristics

The physiological characteristics that will be discussed in this section are sex structure, age composition, and racial constitution. Each has played an important role in determining the basic demographic structure of the Cuban-American population.

Sex Structure. -- The figures in Table 4 indicate that, like the non-Hispanic population, the United States Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and Other Spanish are characterized by a slight predominance of females. A higher proportion of females is the norm for populations of most Western societies, owing to the greater longevity of women. In addition to the tendency for females to live longer, the migration policies of the Cuban government have tended to favor somewhat the selection of females (prior to the Mariel exodus) for the migration streams that have been directed toward the United States. President Fidel Castro's reluctance to

Table 4

Percentages Male and Female of the Spanish Type Populations

Spanish Type	Male	Female	Total
Non-Hispanics	48.3	51.7	100.0
Mexicans	50.3	49.7	100.0
Puerto Ricans	47.3	52.7	100.0
Cubans	48.9	51.1	100.0
Other Spanish	49.8	50.2	100.0

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Public-Use Sample A, One-In-A-Thousand Sample for the United States, 1980.

Chi Square = 16.57 Alpha = .002

Contingency Coefficient = .00855

allow males of military age to leave during the period of the Freedom Flights between 1965 and 1973, and the greater freedom for the elderly to emigrate both promoted a surplus of females.(24) It is likely that the arrival of the 125,000 Mariel refugees in 1980, just after the 1980 Census was taken, has now altered the sex composition of the Cuban-American population, since the majority of the refugees have been reported to be males.(25) Although there are no official figures available from the United States Census Bureau, it can be estimated that males currently represent between 52 and 53 percent of the total current Cuban-American population.(26) The figures in Table 4 indicate that the Mexican-Americans were the only one of the four Hispanic components to be characterized by a surplus of males in 1980. This unusual male predominance is related to a greater tendency for Mexican males to be employed in agriculture, when compared to other Hispanics. Another possible contributing factor could be the illegal character of much of the recent immigration from Mexico, since it is well-known that most of the illegal immigrants have been males.

Age Composition. -- The age composition of the United States Hispanic population components can be seen in Table 5 and in Figure 6. Clearly, there are considerable differences among these four populations. Cubans are characterized by the oldest age structure, with a median age of almost 39 years, approximately eight years older than the average for the non-Hispanic population living in the United States. On the other hand, Mexicans and Puerto Ricans have very youthful age structures, with median ages of 21 and 22 years, respectively. The older average for Cubans is related primarily to two factors: (1) their low fertility rates (more will be said about fertility later in this report), and (2) the migration policies of the Cuban government (mentioned previously) that favored the emigration of elderly individuals.(31) The younger average ages of the Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, on

Table 5

Age Structure of the Spanish Type Population Components
(Percentages)

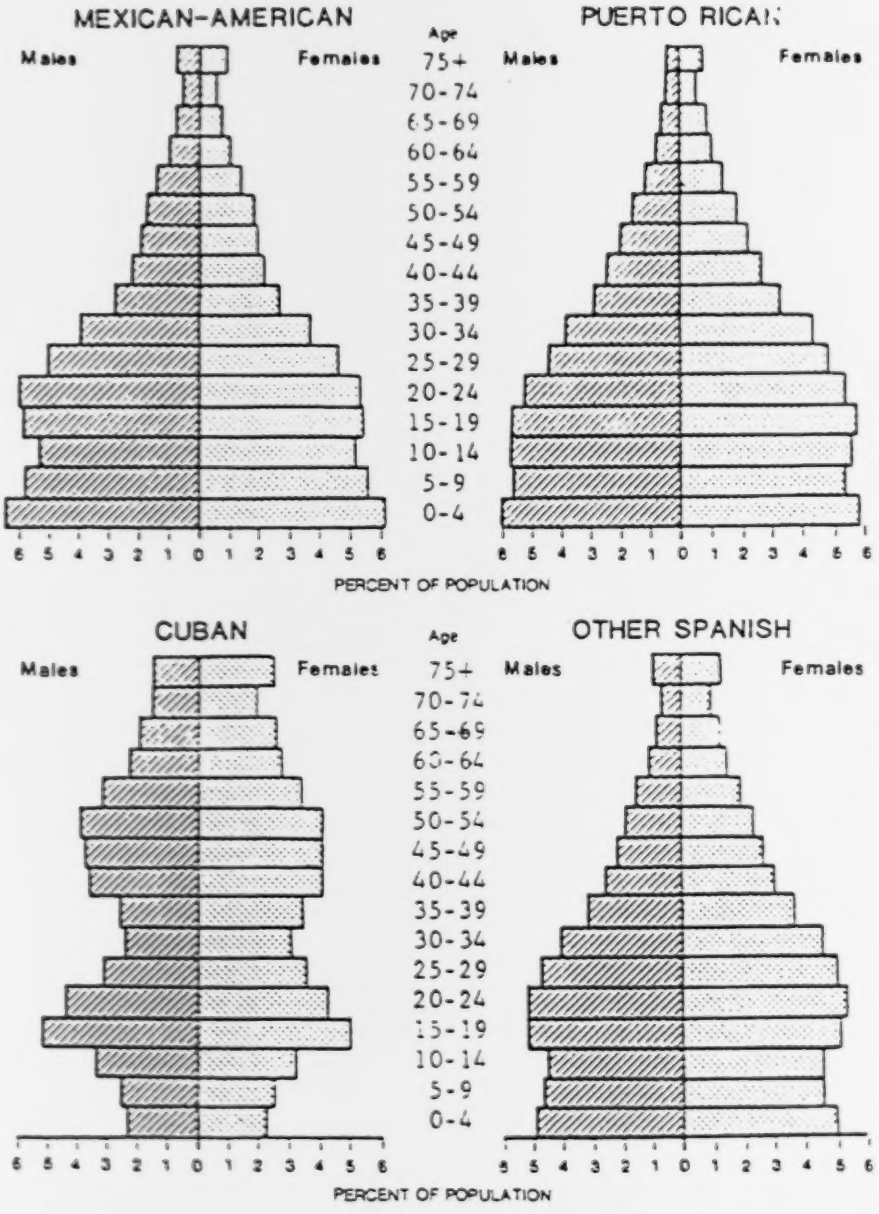
Age Classes (Years)	Spanish Type 1	2	3	4	5
0-9	14.2	25.2	20.8	11.4	20.4
10-19	17.3	21.9	24.1	13.0	18.0
20-29	17.7	20.5	21.0	15.6	19.6
30-39	14.0	12.8	13.9	11.3	16.4
40-49	10.0	7.9	9.3	14.7	10.2
50-59	10.5	6.2	6.3	16.2	6.7
60-69	8.6	3.0	2.7	10.3	4.9
70 and older	7.7	2.5	1.9	7.5	3.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Median Age	30.6	21.4	22.4	38.8	25.9

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, Public-Use Microdata Sample A, One-In-A-Thousand Sample for the United States, 1980.

1 = Non-Hispanics
2 = Mexicans
3 = Puerto Ricans
4 = Cubans
5 = Other Spanish

Chi Square = 2228.32 Alpha = .000 Eta = .095

Figure 6. Age-Sex Composition of the Four Hispanic Groups 1980



Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, 1980 Census of Population, "General Population Characteristics," Supplementary Report PC80-1B (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Census: August 1982).

the other hand, is primarily a result of their high fertility rates. The effects of fertility differences among the Hispanic components are emphasized when it is noted that approximately 47 percent of the Mexicans and 45 percent of the Puerto Ricans are under 20 years of age, while only 24 percent of the Cubans are this youthful.

Racial Constitution. -- The racial composition of the non-Hispanic and Hispanic population groups can be seen in Table 6. When the 1980 Census was taken, many persons of Hispanic descent did not understand that race has a physical connotation in the United States, rather than referring to ethnicity.(28) This is because in many parts of Latin America race has as much a cultural meaning as it does a physiological connotation. For instance, if an Indian from a mountain village in Guatemala moves to Guatemala City and dresses like a European and learns to speak Spanish, he becomes known as a Ladino and is no longer considered as being an Indian.(29) As a result of this confusion, many Hispanic-Americans wrote on the Census questionnaire (rather than darkening in a circle for one of the answers provided) that their race was "Spanish."(30) In addition, persons who were a mixture of black and white, or Indian and white, tended to indicate that their race was also "Spanish" or "Other." This was particularly true of Mexican-Americans (many of whom are racially mestizos) and Puerto Ricans (because many are mulattoes). As a result only about half of these two Hispanic components declared themselves to be white, with between 40 and 50 percent claiming to be either Spanish (write-in) or Other. On the other hand, like the non-Hispanic population, well over 80 percent of the Cubans and over 60 percent of the Other Spanish considered themselves to be white. It has already been noted in the literature that the Pre-Mariel Cubans who came to the United States were composed of a much smaller percentage of blacks than was the case with the

Table 6

Race by Spanish Type
(Percentages)

Spanish Type	Race 1	2	3	4	5	Total
Non-Hispanics	85.0	12.4	2.4	.0	.2	100.0
Mexicans	56.1	1.7	1.2	37.2	3.8	100.0
Puerto Ricans	48.1	2.1	.3	42.2	7.3	100.0
Cubans	82.5	2.2	.0	12.8	2.5	100.0
Other Spanish	62.2	4.7	5.9	24.1	3.1	100.0

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, Public-Use Microdata Sample A, One-In-A-Thousand Sample for the United States, 1980.

1 = White
2 = Black
3 = Asian
4 = Spanish Write-In
5 = Other

Chi Square = 84459.71 Alpha = .000

Contingency Coefficient = .521

population left behind in Cuba.(31) There have been a variety of estimates regarding the percentage of Mariel entrants who are black. These have ranged from 20 to 40 percent, with the correct figure probably being close to the lower end of this range which is closer to the proportion that is black in Cuba.(32) Nevertheless, even if the racial characteristics of the Mariel refugees are added to those of the Pre-Mariel entrants, the Cuban-Americans still have by far the highest percentage of their population being white when compared to the other three Hispanic-American components.

Summary. -- The following statements can be made regarding the physiological characteristics of the Pre-Mariel Cubans when they are compared to the other Hispanic-American populations: (1) they are about average regarding their sex composition, with an almost even split between males and females; (2) they have by far the oldest age structure; and (3) they have a significantly larger proportion of their population classified as being white.

Spatial Mobility and Citizenship(33) --

Spatial Mobility. -- Geographers categorize individuals who change their residence into two classes: (1) partial displacement movers and (2) total displacement migrants.(34) The partial displacement movers usually move only short distances, so their activity space (where they usually shop, work, and play) is only partially altered. Usually, people who change residence within the same county are considered to be partial displacement movers because although they change neighborhoods and make new friends, they generally retain the same job and are close enough to their former place of residence to maintain ties with their old neighborhood.

Conversely, individuals who change either their state or country of residence normally move much greater distances and are classified as total displacement

migrants. The greater distance is significant because it creates a frictional effect on the potential for interaction that the migrant has with his prior place of residence. As a result, activity space is almost completely altered (although some may return occasionally to their former neighborhoods for infrequent visits). Total displacement migrants must change jobs, develop a new network of friends, change where their children go to school, and alter where they shop and the locations of their recreational activities. In short, total displacement migrations normally involve higher levels of adjustment than is the case with partial displacement moves.(35) Because of these fundamental distinctions, this migration dichotomy will be used as a basis for comparing the spatial mobility patterns of the various components of the Hispanic-American population.

The U.S. Census Bureau asked a question during the 1980 Census that inquired where persons who were five years of age or older lived in 1975.(36) The results of the answers are displayed for non-Hispanics and the four Hispanic components in Table 7. These figures show that all five of the populations were residentially very mobile during this five-year period. For each of the Hispanic components more than 50 percent of the population changed residence. For the non-Hispanics the figure was somewhat lower at approximately 46 percent. In each of the five classes more than half of those who changed residences did so within the same county, and thus would qualify as being partial displacement movers.

The Other Spanish were the most mobile, since only approximately 38 percent were living in the same house in 1980 as in 1975. Of the 62 percent who moved, 34 percent did so within the same county. The remaining 28 percent were total displacement movers. About 9 percent stayed in the same state, while 8 percent crossed a state boundary when they moved. Eleven percent lived outside the United States in 1975.

Table 7

Prior Place of Residence in 1975 for Persons
5 Years of Age or Older
(Percentages)

Place of Residence	Spanish Type				
	1	2	3	4	5
Same house as in 1980	54.4	47.3	41.5	48.3	37.7
Different house, same county	24.5	32.7	35.3	33.4	33.9
Different county, same state	10.0	7.6	8.3	2.8	9.3
Different state, in Northeast	2.2	.3	5.5	4.9	2.7
Different state, in North Central	2.4	.9	.7	1.0	.8
Different state, in South	3.2	1.8	.6	1.5	2.0
Different state, in West	2.0	2.3	.3	.0	2.5
Abroad	1.3	7.1	7.8	8.1	11.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, Public-Use Microdata Sample A, One-In-A-Thousand Sample for the United States, 1980.

1 = Non-Hispanics
2 = Mexicans
3 = Puerto Ricans
4 = Cubans
5 = Other Spanish

Chi Square = 2190.77 Alpha = .000

Contingency Coefficient = .143

Cubans were the least residentially mobile of the four Hispanic-American components, although they were slightly more mobile than the non-Hispanics. Furthermore, approximately 33 percent of the Cubans (65 percent of all who moved) were partial displacement movers, who were living in the same counties in 1975 and 1980. About seven percent were interstate movers, most of whom (about five percent) lived in the northeastern states of New Jersey and New York in 1975. The majority of the interstate moves were part of a return flow of Cuban-Americans to the metropolitan area of Miami. By 1980, close to 40 percent of Dade County's Hispanic residents had lived at one time in another state. This return flow of Cubans to South Florida has been well-documented in the literature.(37) Approximately eight percent of the Cuban-Americans living in the United States in 1980 lived in a foreign country in 1975 (Table 7). However, this figure is not representative of the real magnitude of the immigrant element in the Cuban-American population. The reason is that the 1975 to 1980 interval (prior to the start of the Mariel exodus in April 1980) was part of a longer period (1973 to 1980) when the rate of emigration from Cuba had declined precipitously, due to the Castro government's migration policy that prevailed at that time.(38)

The figures in Table 8 provide a better picture of the immigrant component of the United States population. In this table it can be seen that 78 percent of the Pre-Mariel Cubans are immigrants. Approximately three quarters of these people arrived during the 15-year period between 1959 and 1975. Prior to the exodus from Mariel, Cuba between April and September 1980, there were two major waves that characterized the flow from Cuba. These occurred between 1959 and 1962 and from 1965 to 1973.(39) In other words, the vast majority of the Cubans who now reside in the United States are recent arrivals. As such, the second generation (the first to be born in the United States) is still relatively small (about 22 percent). Of course, if

Table 8

Years of Immigration to the United States
by Spanish Type
(Percentages)

Years of Immigration	Spanish Type				
	1	2	3	4	5
Before 1950	31.1	11.2	2.0	3.5	5.9
1950 to 1959	15.6	10.3	18.4	11.3	7.0
1960 to 1964	7.7	8.5	12.2	26.8	10.9
1965 to 1969	10.4	13.3	18.4	32.5	21.0
1970 to 1974	13.4	23.9	28.6	14.7	26.7
1975 to 1980	21.8	32.8	20.4	11.2	28.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Percent Immigrants	4.7	24.3	2.5	78.1	39.7

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, Public-Use Microdata Sample A, One-In-A-Thousand Sample for the United States, 1980.

1 = Non-Hispanics
2 = Mexicans
3 = Puerto Ricans
4 = Cubans
5 = Other Spanish

Chi Square = 1642.14 Alpha = .000 Eta = .238

the Mariel entrants were added to these figures the proportional representation of the second generation would be even less. This is particularly relevant because it emphasizes the fact that the characteristics of the Cuban-Americans described in this paper are primarily those of the first generation of immigrants. It has been usually the second and third generations who have shown the greatest degree of upward socioeconomic mobility throughout most of the United States immigration history. Therefore, the progress that Cubans have made is particularly noteworthy.(40)

The only other component of the Hispanic-American population that is characterized by more than 25 percent of its members being immigrants is the Other Spanish (Table 8). About 40 percent of these persons are so classified. As previously stated, the main countries of origin for these immigrants are Colombia, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Ecuador, Peru, Venezuela, Argentina, Spain, and the Philippines. Over half (55 percent) arrived since 1970, so their arrival has been even more recent, on the average, than that of the Cuban-Americans. The very low percentage (25 percent) of immigrants among the Puerto Ricans is affected by the fact that almost all Puerto Ricans are U.S. citizens, and therefore, are not classified by the Census Bureau as being immigrants.

Citizenship. – The recency of their arrival has had an obvious effect on the citizenship status of both the Cubans and Other Spanish. Once an immigrant receives legal residency status, he is required to wait at least five years before achieving U.S. citizenship. Citizenship status is important because it affects the political power of an ethnic group through the right to vote. In South Florida it has been found that, once Hispanics achieve U.S. citizenship, they tend to participate in elections at a higher level than most other ethnic classes.(41) The figures in Table 9 indicate that 42 percent of the Cuban-Americans are not U.S.

Table 9

Citizenship Status by Spanish Type
(Percentages)

Spanish Type	Status 1	2	3	4	Total
Non-Hispanics	94.9	2.7	1.9	.5	100.0
Mexicans	74.9	6.4	17.9	.8	100.0
Puerto Ricans	96.8	1.8	.7	.7	100.0
Cubans	21.6	35.7	42.4	.3	100.0
Other Spanish	59.4	12.1	27.6	.9	100.0

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, Public-Use Microdata Sample A, One-In-A-Thousand Sample for the United States, 1980.

1 = Born in the United States or Outlying Areas
2 = Naturalized Citizen
3 = Not a Citizen
4 = Born Abroad of American Parents

Chi Square = 22965.05 Alpha = .000

Lamda (Asymmetric) = .01185 (with citizenship dependent)

citizens, while 28 percent of the Other Spanish are similarly classified. If only the foreign-born persons included in these two Hispanic components are considered, 54 percent of the Cuban immigrants are without U.S. citizenship status, while 70 percent of the Other Spanish are not citizens of this country. Thus, when all Cuban-Americans are compared to all of the Other Spanish, the Cubans have the lower percentage being U.S. citizens. On the other hand, when only the immigrants are considered, the findings are reversed, with the Cubans having the higher citizenship rates. These findings are reasonable when it is noted that: (1) a larger share of the Other Spanish are second or subsequent generation residents of the U.S., and (2) among immigrants the Other Spanish have a larger proportion being very recent arrivals in the United States.

Summary. – The following conclusions can be reached regarding the spatial mobility and citizenship status of the Pre-Mariel Cubans, when compared to the other three Hispanic components: (1) the Cubans were slightly less residentially mobile than the others, but still over half changed homes between 1975 and 1980; (2) a much larger percentage of Cubans are immigrants; and (3) the Cubans have the largest proportion of their population being without United States citizenship.

Language Abilities

Social scientists have noted that, in the United States, one indicator of the degree of acculturation of an ethnic group whose mother tongue is not English is its ability to converse in the English language.(42) This ability for the non-Hispanic and Hispanic components of the United States population is exhibited in Table 10. Clearly, Cubans have the greatest problem with English, since almost 40 percent do not speak English well or do not speak it at all. There are two factors that account for this disadvantageous characteristic: (1) almost 80 percent of the Cubans are *immigrants* from a country whose native language is Spanish, and (2) almost all of

Table 10

Ability to Speak English by Spanish Type
(Percentages)

Spanish Type	Ability to Speak English				
	Very Well	Well	Not Well	Not at All	Total
Non-Hispanics	62.2	24.5	11.0	2.3	100.0
Mexicans	44.9	27.6	17.2	10.2	100.0
Puerto Ricans	47.2	30.3	15.6	6.9	100.0
Cubans	40.3	21.0	21.4	17.3	100.0
Other Spanish	47.4	26.3	17.9	8.4	100.0

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, Public-Use Microdata Sample A, One-In-A-Thousand Sample for the United States, 1960.

Chi Square = 1218.89 Alpha = .000

Contingency Coefficient = .222

these immigrants are recent arrivals in the United States. For instance, over 90 percent have arrived since 1959, and 26 percent have arrived since 1970. If the Mariel entrants are added to the Pre-Mariel population, another 16 percent would have arrived in 1980, thus further aggravating the language problem that Cuban-Americans are experiencing.

One way of determining language preference is to inquire which language is used in an individual's home. When the Census Bureau did this for the United States in 1980, the results were those shown in Table 11. Again the Cubans exhibit the lowest level of usage, with only seven percent claiming they use English in their homes. The Mexican-Americans and Other Spanish showed the highest levels of English usage in the home (25 and 34 percent, respectively). A recent national study of Hispanic-Americans, conducted by Miami-based Strategy Research Corporation, determined that Cubans showed the greatest preference for speaking Spanish, when compared to Mexicans and Puerto Ricans living in this country. The greater preference for Spanish on the part of the Cubans was attributed primarily to: (1) their recency of immigration, (2) their older age structure (since most received all their schooling in Cuba before arriving in the U.S.), and (3) their concentration in ethnic enclaves such as those in the metropolitan areas of Miami and Union City-West New York.(43)

Labor Force Characteristics

Two indicators of the labor force experiences of a population are its participation rates and its occupational structure. These characteristics that will be described in this section.

Participation Rates. – The figures shown in Tables 12 and 13 display the types of labor force participation for males and females for each of the four Hispanic populations, as well as for non-Hispanics. When males only are considered, the

Table 11

Language Usually Spoken at Home by Persons 3 Years of Age or Older by Spanish Type
(Percentages)

Spanish Type	Language Spoken at Home		
	English	Other than English	Total
Non-Hispanics	93.5	6.5	100.0
Mexicans	24.7	75.3	100.0
Puerto Ricans	12.3	87.7	100.0
Cubans	7.2	92.8	100.0
Other Spanish	33.5	66.5	100.0

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, Public-Use Microdata Sample A, One-In-A-Thousand Sample for the United States, 1980.

Chi Square = 64329.71 Alpha = .000

Lambda (Asymmetric) = .301 (with language dependent)

Table 12

Labor Force Participation for Males 16 Years of Age or Older by Spanish Type (Percentages)

Spanish Type	Type of Labor Force Participation 1	2	3	4	Total
Non-Hispanics	68.5	4.8	1.8	24.9	100.0
Mexicans	72.0	6.1	1.7	20.2	100.0
Puerto Ricans	57.9	6.4	3.5	32.2	100.0
Cubans	73.7	4.0	.3	22.0	100.0
Other Spanish	71.0	5.7	2.5	20.8	100.0

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, Public-Use Microdata Sample A, One-In-A-thousand Sample for the United States, 1980.

1 = Employed in Civilian Labor Force
2 = Unemployed
3 = Working in Armed Forces
4 = Not in Labor Force

Chi Square = 90.12 Alpha = .000

Contingency Coefficient = .033

Table 13

Labor Force Participation for Females 16 Years of Age or Older by Spanish Type
(Percentages)

Spanish Type	Type of Labor Force Participation				
	1	2	3	4	Total
Non-Hispanics	46.6	3.2	.1	50.1	100.0
Mexicans	42.3	4.9	.1	52.7	100.0
Puerto Ricans	36.1	4.7	.0	59.2	100.0
Cubans	47.1	4.4	.0	48.5	100.0
Other Spanish	47.1	5.0	.4	47.5	100.0

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, Public-Use Microdata Sample A, One-In-A-Thousand Sample for the United States, 1980.

1 = Employed in Civilian Labor Force
2 = Unemployed
3 = Working in Armed Forces
4 = Not in Labor Force

Chi Square = 85.29 Alpha = .000

Contingency Coefficient = .031

following generalizations can be made: (1) Cubans, Mexicans, and Other Spanish have a higher proportion of their population employed in the civilian labor force, with the Puerto Ricans ranking significantly below the others; (2) the unemployment rates for Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, and Other Spanish are about one percentage point above that of the non-Hispanics, while the Cubans have an unemployment level that is about one percent below the non-Hispanic's rate; and (3) almost one-third of the Puerto Rican males are not in the labor force, whereas the proportions for non-Hispanics and the other three Hispanic components are between one-fourth and one-fifth. Persons not in the labor force include those individuals who are not actively looking for work, such as students, housewives, disabled and institutionalized persons, and persons who have given up hope of finding a job (so they are no longer seeking employment).

When only females are considered (Table 13), it is again clear that the Puerto Ricans have the lowest labor force participation rates. One difference between males and females, however, is that among females the Mexican-Americans join Puerto Ricans with participation rates lower than those experienced by the non-Hispanics. Both Cubans and Other Spanish have female rates of participation in the civilian labor force that are very slightly higher than those experienced by the non-Hispanics. Both Cuban males and females have the highest civilian labor force participation rates. The Cuban and Other Spanish women have the lowest percentage of females not in the labor force. The higher working force participation rates for Cubans is indicative of a high prevalence of two- income families, where both husband and wife work. It is also a sign of high aspirations and an attempt for many Cubans to regain the status and material well-being they had in Cuba prior to the Castro revolution.(44)

Occupational Structure. -- Table 14 shows the occupational characteristics of the five population components being investigated in this report. The following

Table 14

Occupational Characteristics by Spanish Type
(Percentages)

Occupation	Spanish type 1	2	3	4	5
Executive, Administrative, and Managerial	9.4	4.1	5.0	10.0	6.8
Professional Specialties	11.4	4.7	6.4	9.6	8.3
Technicians	2.9	1.4	1.9	2.6	2.8
Sales	10.4	7.2	6.6	8.6	8.5
Administrative Support and Clerical	17.4	13.5	19.8	16.4	16.4
Services	14.5	17.5	15.5	12.6	18.3
Farming, Forestry and Fishing	3.1	8.6	1.4	.8	3.2
Precision Production, Craft, and Repair	12.0	14.0	10.8	11.8	10.8
Operators, Fabricators, and Laborers	18.7	29.0	32.6	27.6	24.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, Public-Use Microdata Sample A, One-In-A-Thousand Sample for the United States, 1980.

1 = Non-Hispanics
2 = Mexicans
3 = Puerto Ricans
4 = Cubans
5 = Other Spanish

Chi Square = 1243.03 Alpha = .000

Contingency Coefficient = .099

statements summarize the trends displayed by these data: (1) non-Hispanics have the highest occupational rank when compared to each of the four Hispanic components; (2) Cubans and Other Spanish are very similar in terms of their occupational structures and rank above the Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, who in turn occupy the bottom ranks; and (3) only a very small percentage of any of the five population classes are employed in the extractive industries such as farming, forestry, or fishing. This latter characteristic is a reflection of the fact (discussed previously) that most Hispanics live in metropolitan areas in the United States. However, of those Hispanics employed in agriculture, the overwhelming majority are Mexican-Americans.

Lisandro Perez has noted that, when compared to other Hispanics, Cuban-Americans are less likely to be employed in the public sector. On the other hand, they are somewhat more likely to be self-employed. Within the industrial sector of the economy, they are more likely to be employed in the manufacturing of nondurable goods, especially textiles.(45) For instance, the garment industry in metropolitan Miami is dominated by Cuban-American entrepreneurs and Cuban female laborers.

Summary. -- The employment situation of the Pre-Mariel Cubans can be placed in perspective by noting the following: (1) Cubans have the highest labor force participation rates when compared to both the Hispanic components and the non-Hispanics; (2) Cubans occupy an intermediate position when compared to the total U.S. population in terms of their occupational structure, ranking above the Mexicans and Puerto Ricans but below the non-Hispanics; and (3) although very few Cubans are employed in the extractive industries, they are found in significant numbers in all other occupational categories. This last point highlights the fact that it is a mistake to view the Cuban-Americans as golden exiles from Cuba's

former elite classes.(46) In fact, less than 20 percent are employed in the executive, administrative, managerial, and professional occupational classes.

Income Patterns

Income is one of the variables that is most frequently used by social scientists as an indicator of economic status. In this section, income will be viewed from two perspectives: (1) individual income derived from wages and salaries, and (2) family income levels relative to the poverty cutoff established by the U.S. Census Bureau for 1980.

The income structures for individuals in each of the five population components being studied are displayed in Table 15. None of the Hispanic components have an income level as high as that of the non-Hispanic population. Among the Hispanics, Cubans clearly have the highest annual incomes, with a median level that is $575 above that of the Other Spanish, who are in second place among the Hispanics. Mexicans have the lowest median incomes, ranking below Puerto Ricans. The median for Mexican-Americans is almost $1,200 less than that of the Pre-Mariel Cubans.

Family income levels relative to the poverty cutoff are displayed in Table 16. The poverty cutoffs vary according to family size, number of children, and age of the family householder or unrelated head.(47) The patterns shown in Table 16 are very similar to those discussed for Table 15. The one difference is that Puerto Ricans have replaced the Mexicans with the lowest levels. Almost 37 percent of the the Puerto Rican families have incomes below the poverty level, while for the Mexican-Americans the comparable figure is 25 percent. Apparently, this reversal of position is due to the fact that, while Puerto Ricans experience a higher incidence of poverty when compared to the Mexicans, they also have a somewhat larger percentage of their labor force earning middle-income salaries in the $10,000

Table 15

Wage or Salary Income for Persons 16 Years of Age or Older With an Income by Spanish Type (Percentages)

Income Class	Spanish Type 1	2	3	4	5
$1 - $3,999	25.2	28.2	26.1	21.3	26.6
$4,000 - $9,999	26.8	37.0	37.2	36.7	34.1
$10,000 - $19,999	30.9	27.1	30.1	30.2	27.9
$20,000 - $29,999	12.0	6.6	5.4	8.2	8.3
$30,000 - $49,999	3.9	1.0	.8	2.2	2.4
$50,000 - $74,999	.7	.1	.2	1.0	.4
$75,000 or more	.5	.0	.2	.6	.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Median Income	$9,552	$7,535	$7,845	$8,692	$8,117

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, Public-Use Microdata Sample A, One-In-A-Thousand Sample for the United States, 1980.

1 = Non-Hispanics
2 = Mexicans
3 = Puerto Ricans
4 = Cubans
5 = Other Spanish

Chi Square = 467.85 Alpha = .000

Eta = .052 (with income dependent)

Table 16

Poverty Status of Families by Spanish Type
(Percentages)

Poverty Class (Decimal of Poverty Level)	Spanish Type 1	2	3	4	6
Below .75	7.7	16.6	28.4	11.6	11.8
.75 to .99	3.9	8.4	8.5	2.8	5.6
1.00 to 1.49	9.0	15.5	13.6	12.2	12.8
1.50 to 1.99	9.6	14.1	11.8	10.7	12.8
2.00 or more	69.8	45.4	37.7	62.7	57.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Median Level	2.85	1.84	1.48	2.60	2.37

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, Public-Use Microdata Sample A, One-In-A-Thousand Sample for the United States, 1980.

1 = Non-Hispanics
2 = Mexicans
3 = Puerto Ricans
4 = Cubans
5 = Other Spanish

Chi Square = 3975.64 Alpha = .000

Eta = .129 (with poverty level dependent)

to $20,000 range (Table 15). Among Hispanics, Cubans again have proportionately the fewest families below the poverty cutoff, with 14 percent. The Other Spanish are a close second at 17 percent. Still, both Cubans and the Other Spanish have a higher incidence of families living in poverty than the non-Hispanic population. Thus, both in terms of individual income and family income relative to the poverty cutoff, Cubans are in the most favored position when compared to the other three Hispanic components, but they are also not as well-off as the non-Hispanic population.

Social Attributes

The social variables that have been selected for discussion in this paper are: (1) highest school grade attended, (2) marital status, and (3) fertility. Each is a key indicator of the degree of social well-being within any population.

Education Levels. -- Table 17 displays the education levels of the five population components being described. Only persons 25 years of age or older are being considered. The advantages of restricting the analysis to people in this age group are that most of them have completed their schooling, and many of them have finished this schooling fairly recently. The figures in Table 17 suggest three important points: (1) the Mexicans and Puerto Ricans again are characterized by the lowest levels (as they were when the labor force and income variables were considered earlier in this paper), with median highest grade attendance rates below that of the senior year in high school; (2) the non-Hispanics are favored by having the highest education levels, with a median of approximately one year of college; and (3) the education levels of the Cubans and Other Spanish are only very slightly lower than that experienced by the non-Hispanics. In fact, in terms of their achieved levels of education, the Cubans and Other Spanish are very similar to each other, and are more similar to the non-Hispanics than they are to the Mexicans and Puerto Ricans.

Table 17

Highest Grade Attended by Persons 25 Years of Age or Older
by Spanish Type
(Percentages)

Grade Categories	Spanish Type 1	2	3	4	5
Kindergarten or None	.7	6.8	2.6	2.1	1.9
First-Third Grades	1.1	8.5	7.7	2.3	3.5
Fourth-Seventh Grades	6.0	21.7	17.5	17.3	13.7
Eighth Grade	7.8	7.0	8.9	11.3	7.5
Ninth-Eleventh Grades	14.9	16.6	22.0	7.8	13.6
Twelfth Grade	34.8	21.6	23.4	27.6	28.0
College: First-Third Years	17.0	12.1	12.3	12.5	18.2
College: Fourth Year	9.1	2.7	2.4	8.5	5.8
College: More than Four Years	8.6	3.0	3.2	10.6	7.8
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Median Highest Grade Attended	12.6	10.1	10.8	12.3	12.4

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, Public-Use Microdata Sample A, One-In-A-Thousand Sample for the United States, 1980.

1 = Non-Hispanics
2 = Mexicans
3 = Puerto Ricans
4 = Cubans
5 = Other Spanish

Chi Square = 7526.18 Alpha = .000

Eta = -.078 (with grade level dependent)

A closer inspection of the figures in Table 17 reveals two additional interesting educational characteristics. First, when compared to non-Hispanics, the Cubans have a much larger proportion of their population over 25 years of age that received an eighth-grade education or less (33 percent vs. 16 percent). Second, the percentage that attended some college was similar for Cubans and non-Hispanics (31.6 percent vs. 34.7 percent). In fact, a slightly larger proportion of the Cubans attended four or more years of college. Perez suggests that Cubans tend to exhibit a certain degree of polarization in their educational characteristics, with relatively high proportions at both ends of the educational continuum. He explains this pattern by stating:

> On the one hand, the traditional socioeconomic selectivity of the migration from socialist Cuba, combined with the high proportion of young Cubans who have attended and are attending universities in this country, has produced a fairly high proportion of college graduates. On the other hand, a population with a high proportion of elderly persons (especially if they are migrants from a developing country) can be expected to have many persons who did not attend school beyond the elementary grades.(48)

Marital Status. -- A recent study has documented a rise in the instability of marriages of Cubans living both in Cuba and the United States.(49) This trend has paralleled a similar rise in the divorce rate of the total United States population. The increasing instability of Cuban marriages has been attributed primarily to a transformation of the traditional Latin American family that prevailed in pre-Castro Cuba. Today, in both Cuba and the United States, there is greater equality among the sexes, as females have become more widely incorporated into the labor forces of both countries and the tradition of the extended family has become less prevalent.

If Cuban-American marriages have become less stable, it is relevant to ask how their level of instability compares to that of the other Hispanic populations, as

well as to that of the non-Hispanics. The figures in Table 18 provide answers to this question. It should be cautioned, however, that these figures refer to the marital status of people that was current at the time they were enumerated in the 1980 Census. Thus, the real percentages of persons who have ever been divorced or separated is certainly higher than the figures in this table indicate because many have remarried. Nevertheless, if the percentages divorced and separated are added together, a weak index of marriage instability is produced. Thus, the non-Hispanics have the lowest rate of 11.4 percent. The Other Spanish have the highest index of 15.3 percent; while the Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans are very similar to each other within a range of 12.5 to 13.2 percent. The higher percentages of persons who are widowed for the Cubans and non-Hispanics is primarily a reflection of their considerably older age structures.

Fertility. -- A demographic study of U.S. Hispanics, using 1970 census data, determined that Cuban-Americans have an extraordinarily low fertility rate when compared to other Hispanic populations. This was primarily attributed to their older age structure, high female labor force participation rates, and relatively high levels of educational attainment.(50) Another study also noted a significant decline in fertility in Cuba. It was suggested that this was due to the modernization of the Cuban family and to disappointment with the performance of the Cuban economy.(51)

Table 19 displays the fertility patterns of the Hispanics and non-Hispanics using the number of children ever born to women 35 years of age or older as the basic index. Women who are in this age class have largely completed their fertility behavior, and most have done so recently. These figures mirror the results of the two studies mentioned in the preceding paragraph. That is, Cubans have the lowest fertility rate, falling below non-Hispanics. Mexicans have the highest rate, followed by the Puerto Ricans and Other Spanish, respectively.

Table 18

Marital Status of Ever-Married Persons 15 Years of Age or Older by Spanish Type (Percentages)

Spanish Type	Marital Status 1	2	3	4	Totals
Non-Hispanics	78.1	10.5	8.6	2.8	100.0
Mexicans	81.4	6.1	8.4	4.1	100.0
Puerto Ricans	72.8	4.0	11.4	11.8	100.0
Cubans	77.6	9.3	8.2	4.9	100.0
Other Spanish	78.7	6.0	9.8	5.5	100.0

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, Public-Use Microdata Sample A, One-In-A-Thousand Sample for the United States, 1980.

1 = Now Married, Not Separated
2 = Widowed
3 = Divorced
4 = Seperated

Chi Square = 429.39 Alpha = .000

Contingency Coefficient = .057

Table 19

Number of Children Ever-Born to Women 35 Years of Age or Older by Spanish Type
(Percentages)

Number of Children Ever Born	Spanish Type 1	2	3	4	5
None	16.7	9.8	7.9	17.6	12.8
One	13.9	7.9	9.6	22.9	14.9
Two	24.3	13.3	21.9	26.5	21.4
Three to Five	36.8	41.3	42.1	30.2	39.9
Six or More	8.3	27.7	18.5	2.8	11.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Median Number of Children Ever Born	2.8	4.4	3.8	2.4	3.1

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, Public-Use Microdata Sample A, One-In-A-Thousand Sample for the United States.

1 = Non-Hispanics
2 = Mexicans
3 = Puerto Ricans
4 = Cubans
5 = Other Spanish

Chi Square = 664.47 Alpha = .000

Eta = .082 (with fertility dependent)

Summary. -- The following conclusions can be reached regarding the social attributes of the Pre-Mariel Cubans when compared to the other three Hispanic population components: (1) Cubans have educational achievement levels that are about equal to those of the Other Spanish and only slightly below those of non-Hispanics, and they have considerably higher levels of attainment than the Mexicans and Puerto Ricans; (2) Cubans are about average in terms of their marriage stability patterns when compared to the other three Hispanic classes, but they have a significantly higher percentage of widowed individuals due to their older age structure; and (3) Cubans have significantly lower fertility rates than the other Hispanic components. In fact, their fertility level is also slightly lower than that of the non-Hispanics.

Socioeconomic Rank

An attempt has been made to estimate the socioeconomic ranks of the five population components being studied in this report. Five variables that are thought to be reasonable indicators of social and economic status have been selected (Table 20) A subjective ranking system has been developed to be used for each variable. The details of the methodology used in developing this system are explained in the Appendix of this investigation. The lower the rank and the lower the socioeconomic score, the higher the status.

The composite SES scores shown in Table 20 indicate that non-Hispanics clearly have the highest rank in terms of their socioeconomic characteristics. Pre-Mariel Cubans rank second, being only slightly ahead of the Other Spanish. Mexicans rank the lowest, while the Puerto Ricans are next to the lowest. In fact, in terms of their socioeconomic characteristics, Cubans are more similar to the non-Hispanics than they are to either the Mexicans or Puerto Ricans. However, they are most similar to the Other Spanish. An earlier study of all Hispanics living in

Table 20

Socioeconomic Scores for Selected Variables
by Spanish Type

Spanish Type	3-Point Variable Scores@ 1	2	3	4	5	Composite SES Scores•
Non-Hispanics	3	2	3	2	3	2.6
Mexicans	11	9	11	11	10	10.4
Puerto Ricans	9	6	8	9	12	8.8
Cubans	4	11	4	5	5	5.8
Other Spanish	4	8	6	7	7	6.4

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, Public-Use Microdata Sample A, One-In-A-Thousand Sample for the United States.

1 = Median Highest Grade Attended
2 = Percent Able to Speak English Very Well or Well
3 = Percent Employed in Executive, Administrative, Managerial, a Professional Occupations
4 = Median Individual Income from Wages and Salaries
5 = Median Family Income Relative to the Poverty Cutoff

•Composite SES Scores = Sum of the Individual 3-point Scores divided by 5

@See the Appendix for an explanation of how these scores we calculated.

Note: The lower the SES score, the higher the status.

the United States in 1970 determined a similar set of socioeconomic scores based only on occupational characteristics, except that the ranks of the Cubans and Other Spanish were reversed.(52) The reversal of Cubans and Other Spanish, however, was very slight, since the SES scores for these two Hispanic components indicated that they were very similar to each other (as has been found to be the case in this report using 1980 data). In another study of Hispanics living in Florida, conducted by the authors of this paper, it was found that Cubans were ranked lower than both the Other Spanish and Puerto Ricans, though the Cubans still ranked ahead of Mexicans.(53) The lower relative status of the Cubans in Florida was attributed to the assumption that those living in this state have lower socioeconomic status than those living outside of it. We will test this notion in the next section of this paper.

A COMPARISON OF THREE PRE-MARIEL CUBAN-AMERICAN POPULATIONS

Earlier in this report it was noted that, in 1980, just under 60 percent of all Pre-Mariel Cubans lived in the state of Florida, and about 20 percent resided in the combined area of New Jersey and New York. In fact, this population is even more concentrated than the state figures alone indicate, since about 87 percent of Florida's Cuban-Americans live in Dade County (Greater Miami), and close to 90 percent of New Jersey's and New York's Cubans live in the greater metropolitan area of New York City and adjacent portions of New Jersey. The remaining 20 percent of the Cubans, who live in the other 47 states, can be regarded as being a dispersed population. This distribution suggests several interesting questions. To what degree are these three populations of Cuban-Americans different in terms of their socioeconomic characteristics? Do the heavy concentrations in South Florida and the metropolitan area of New York retard the development of the Cuban populations who live there? Conversely, does the dispersed character of Cubans who live outside the states of Florida, New Jersey, and New York promote their

assimilation, so that their socioeconomic characteristics reflect higher status? If the answers to these questions are yes, then can it be assumed that the Cubans who live in New Jersey and New York occupy an intermediate level of status because their concentration is less than Florida and more than for the other states?

Social scientists have speculated that geographically concentrated settlements of ethnic groups have a retarding effect on their rates of assimilation into American society, a factor which in turn slows their rate of economic advancement. For instance, a study of Cubans living in West New York suggested that their concentration in that city may have slowed their rate of socioeconomic assimilation.(54) Another study of Spanish-Americans, using 1970 census data, found that Cubans living in Florida had the lowest socioeconomic status, when compared to Cubans living elsewhere. It also determined that those Cubans living in the combined states of New Jersey and New York had intermediate status, while the ones living in the rest of the United States had the highest rank.(55) The previously mentioned study of Florida's Hispanic population found that Cubans living in areas of concentration in that state had lower levels of economic status than those living more dispersed throughout the state.(56)

In fact, it is difficult to determine the true cause and effect relationship between degree of concentration and level of economic status. Are the areas of concentrated settlement poorer because ethnic concentration has a dampening effect on economic assimilation, or simply because they attract poorer people to live there? In other words, are the Cubans who live in concentrated settlements poorer because they live there? Or do poorer Cubans choose to live in areas of concentrated settlements because they feel that benefits can be derived from the both the economic and psychological security provided by living among people with whom they feel they have more in common? These are questions that cannot be

answered with the data being used in this investigation. All that can be accomplished here is to describe some of the differences that exist between the Pre-Mariel Cubans living in the three areas of Florida, New Jersey-New York, and the rest of the United States. Our hypothesis is that the socioeconomic scores for those living in the rest of the U.S. will be the highest, while the scores for the ones living in Florida will be the lowest. The Cubans living in the combined area of New Jersey and New York should occupy an intermediate position between those living in the other two areas. The same ranking procedure and the five variables that were used earlier in this report to determine the socioeconomic scores for the non-Hispanics, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and Other Spanish will be used here.

Table 21 displays the differing abilities to speak English for the Cubans living in each of the three areas being considered.(57) Clearly, Florida's Cubans have the most difficulty with the English language, since 44 percent of these people either cannot speak the language or speak it poorly. The Cubans living in the rest of the United States have the fewest problems with English, with only approximately 26 percent claiming to speak it not well or not at all. The New Jersey-New York Cubans have an intermediate rank, although they are somewhat closer to those living in Florida, with 38 percent speaking English poorly or not at all.

In terms of achieved levels of education, there is virtually no distinction between the Cubans living in Florida and those living in New Jersey-New York (Table 22). In both cases, the median highest grade attended is the senior year of high school. The Cubans living in the rest of the U.S. have an average education level that is about one-half a grade higher than those living in the states of Florida, New Jersey, and New York.

Table 23 shows the occupational structures of the Cubans in each of the three areas of study. These figures again indicate that, in terms of occupational rank, the

Table 21

Ability to Speak English by Area of Residence for Pre-Mariel Cubans (Percentages)

Ability to Speak English	Florida	New Jersey and New York	Rest of the United States
Very Well	36.4	37.2	52.2
Well	19.3	24.4	21.9
Not Well	22.4	25.6	15.2
Not At All	21.9	12.8	10.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, Public-Use Microdata Sample A, One-In-A-Thousand Sample for the United States.

Chi Square = 26.44 Alpha = .001

Table 22

Highest Grade Attended by Persons 25 Years of Age or Older by Area of Residence for Pre-Mariel Cuban-Americans (Percentages)

Ability to Speak English	Florida	New Jersey and New York	Rest of the United States
Kindergarten or None	2.5	.0	3.2
First-Third Grades	3.1	1.6	.8
Fourth-Seventh Grades	21.1	15.2	9.8
Eighth Grade	10.4	14.4	10.6
Ninth-Eleventh Grades	8.8	8.8	4.1
Twelfth Grade	25.2	31.2	30.1
College: First-Third Years	12.3	11.2	14.6
College: Fourth Year	8.2	8.8	8.9
College: More than Four Years	8.4	8.8	17.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Median Highest Grade Attended	12.2	12.3	12.7

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, Public-Use Microdata Sample A, One-In-A-Thousand Sample for the United States.

Chi Square = 27.31 Alpha = .038

Table 23

Occupational Characteristics by Area of Residence
for Pre-Mariel Cuban-Americans
(Percentages)

Occupation	Florida	New Jersey and New York	Rest of the United States
Executive, Administrative, and Managerial	10.7	5.2	12.9
Professional Specialties	9.5	6.9	12.1
Technicians	3.2	2.6	1.5
Sales	11.1	6.0	6.1
Administrative Support and Clerical	14.6	18.1	18.2
Services	12.6	12.9	12.1
Farming, Forestry and Fishing	.8	.0	1.5
Precision Production, Craft, and Repair	10.7	12.1	13.6
Operators, Fabricators, and Laborers	26.8	36.2	22.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, Public-Use Microdata Sample A, One-In-A-Thousand Sample for the United States.

Chi Square = 16.33 Alpha = .298

Cubans living in the rest of the U.S. have the highest rating. However, there is reversal in the ranks of the Cubans living in Florida and New Jersey-New York, with the former having a significantly higher percentage being employed in the combined executive, administrative, managerial, and professional specialty occupations (20 percent versus 12 percent). The New Jersey-New York Cubans have over one-third of their labor force employed in the operators, fabricators, and laborers category, which is much higher than for either the Florida or Rest of U.S. populations. Even though the latter are not prestigious jobs, they tend to be unionized, so the wages are moderately high.

The income structures of the three Cuban populations can be seen in Tables 24 and 25. The New Jersey-New York Cubans have the highest median income level, which is a reflection of the fact, mentioned above, that many of these people are working in relatively high-wage union jobs in the blue collar industries. Furthermore, average incomes of all people (not just Cubans) are considerably higher in the states of New York and New Jersey than in Florida. Cubans living in the rest of the United States have the next highest wages, with the Florida Cubans having the lowest wage levels. The figures for the percentages of families living below the poverty level largely reflect the same trends shown by the figures for wages and salaries. Again, the New Jersey-New York Cubans have the highest percentage of their families living above the poverty level, with the Florida Cuban families being characterized as having the largest percentage below the poverty cutoff.

The socioeconomic scores for Pre-Mariel Cubans living in the three study areas are displayed in Table 26. It is apparent that the Cubans living in the rest of the United States have the highest status, while those living in Florida have the lowest status. New Jersey-New York Cubans are in between the Cubans living in

Table 24

Wage or Salary Income for Persons 16 Years of Age or Older by Area of Residence for Pre-Mariel Cuban-Americans (Percentages)

Income Class	Florida	New Jersey and New York	Rest of the United States
$1 - $3,999	22.2	16.0	24.5
$4,000 - $9,999	40.7	37.0	29.1
$10,000 - $19,999	27.5	35.0	30.9
$20,000 - $29,999	7.2	10.0	8.2
$30,000 - $49,999	1.9	2.0	2.7
$50,000 - $74,999	.5	.0	2.7
$75,000 or more	.0	.0	1.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Median Income	$8,098	$9,514	$9,258

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, Public-Use Microdata Sample A, One-In-A-Thousand Sample for the United States.

Chi Square = 17.26 Alpha = .109

Table 25

Poverty Status of Families by Area of Residence for Pre-Mariel Cuban-Americans (Percentages)

Poverty Class (Decimal of Poverty Level)	Florida	New Jersey and New York	Rest of the United States
Below .75	12.3	11.9	10.0
.75 to .99	3.0	1.5	3.8
1.00 to 1.49	14.3	9.3	10.5
1.50 to 1.99	13.4	5.7	9.6
2.00 or more	57.0	71.6	66.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Median Level	2.37	2.91	2.73

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, Public-Use Microdata Sample A, One-In-A-Thousand Sample for the United States.

Chi Square = 18.91 Alpha = .018

Table 26

Socioeconomic Scores for Selected Variables by Area of Residence for Pre-Mariel Cuban-Americans

Area of Residence	3-Point Variable Scores@					Composite SES Scores*
	1	2	3	4	5	
Florida	7	7	5	7	6	6.4
New Jersey and New York	6	6	8	3	3	5.2
Rest of the United States	3	3	2	4	4	3.2

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, Public-Use Microdata Sample A, One-In-A-Thousand Sample for the United States.

1 = Median Highest Grade Attended
2 = Percent Able to speak English Very Well or Well
3 = Percent Employed in Executive, Administrative, Managerial, and Professional Occupations
4 = Median Individual Income from Wages and Salaries
5 = Median Family Income Relative to the Poverty Cutoff

*Composite SES Scores = Sum of the Individual 3-point Scores divided by 5

@See the Appendix for an explanation of how these scores were calculated.

Note: The lower the SES score the higher the status.

the other two areas. Thus, the hypothesized relationship appears to be corroborated: There is an inverse relationship between degree of ethnic concentration and levels of economic development experienced by the Cuban-American population.(58) Further evidence of this relationship is provided by studies of other ethnic groups. For instance, it has been found that Puerto Ricans living in New York City are characterized by lower socioeconomic status than those living in the rest of the United States.(59) Another interesting finding from Table 26 is that the New Jersey-New York Cubans are more similar to the Cubans living in Florida, than they are to those living in the rest of the United States. This makes sense to us because both the Florida and New Jersey-New York Cuban populations are spatially more concentrated than the rest, who tend to be much more dispersed throughout the Anglo population.(60) A recent study of Cubans living in Miami and Union City-West New York supports this conclusion because it found these two populations of Cubans to be very similar in most respects.(61)

CONCLUSIONS

This study has made significant findings at two levels. One of these has been at the general level relating to all Hispanic-Americans. The other has been more specific, and has dealt with increasing the knowledge of Cuban-Americans. At the more general level it has been found that all Hispanics are not alike. There are some clear distinctions between the four Hispanic nationality components being studied in this report in terms of their socioeconomic characteristics. It is clear that these differences are also reflected in other significant distinctions. This point is being made because the popular press and mass media often speak of all Hispanics collectively.(62) The stereotyped image that has emerged in many persons' minds is one of brown-skinned people who are poor, speak English badly (if at all), and are living off welfare payments in central cities of the southwestern United States and

in New York City and Chicago. This study has shown that this view is certainly not correct. Being Hispanic does not necessarily mean being poor or illiterate and socio-economic need is not alike among Hispanics within a city or among different Hispanic population groups. It is true that the Hispanic nationalities do have some cultural traits in common, such as Catholicism, speaking Spanish, and emphasizing the family as a social unit. But they are not all poor, although the Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans tend to be more so than the Cubans and Other Spanish. Still, the latter two join Puerto Ricans and Mexicans in having lower socio-economic rankings, as compared to non-Hispanic whites.

At the more specific level, it has been found that Pre-Mariel Cubans compare very favorably, in terms of their socioeconomic characteristics, when contrasted to those of the other three Hispanic-American populations. For instance, Cubans rank higher than the other Hispanics in terms of their education levels, percentage employed in the professional and managerial occupations, and average income. Overall, they are most similar to the Other Spanish and least similar to the Puerto Ricans and Mexicans. In fact, demographically, they are more similar to non-Hispanics than they are to Puerto Ricans and Mexican-Americans.

It has also been determined in this report that there are significant differences within the Cuban-American population, due to an apparent relationship between degree of concentration and socioeconomic development. Those living in Florida tend to be the least favored in terms of their economic status, while the ones residing in the rest of the United States enjoy the highest living standards. The Cubans living in New Jersey and New York are intermediate in terms of their economic well-being.

Despite differences among the Pre-Mariel Cubans, there can be little doubt that they have made remarkable progress in their adjustment to life in the United

States. By almost any measure it is clear that the Cubans are becoming rapidly acculturated into American society, although they still are readily visible as a separate ethnic minority. Residentially, they are becoming increasingly integrated with the Anglo populations of the metropolitan areas in which they live. Their occupational structure is becoming more similar to that of the Anglos with the passage of time. The Cuban family, although still maintaining some aspects of the traditional Latin family, is also converting to the American norm, as more wives work, and both their sons and daughters exhibit an increasing tendency to marry non-Cubans. More and more Cubans are learning to speak and write English and an increasing proportion are becoming American citizens.(63)

Although there have been no comprehensive studies of the Mariel refugees, a lot has been written about their presumed characteristics.(64) Most of these studies concur that the entrants from Mariel are more nearly representative of the population left in Cuba, than has been the case with the immigrants from the island who preceded them.(65) As a result, the Mariel Cubans are almost certain to be characterized by lower levels of socioeconomic status than the Pre-Mariel Cuban population. On the other hand, it is also likely that most of the immigrants from Mariel were not marginal to the Cuban society they left behind.(66) Once comprehensive data for these people finally become available, it will be interesting to see which of the Hispanic-American populations they come closest to approximating.

ENDNOTES

(1) U.S. Bureau of Census, *Census of Population and Housing, 1980: Public-Use Microdata Samples, Technical Documentation* (Washington, D.C.: Data User Services Division, Bureau of Census, March 1983), pp. 1-10.

(2) Thomas D. Boswell, "The Demographic Characteristics of Pre-Mariel Cubans Living in the State of Florida: 1980," (Report presented to the Community Relations Service, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C., July 12, 1984).

(3) U.S. Bureau of Census, *1980 Census of Population*, "Persons of Spanish Origin by State: 1980," Supplementary Report, PC80-s1-7 (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Census, August 1982), pp. 12-13.

(4) As examples see: Thomas D. Boswell, Guarione M. Diaz, and Lisandro Perez, "The Socioeconomic Context of the Cuban American Population," *The Journal of Cultural Geography*, 3:29-41, 1982; and A. J. Jaffe, Ruth M. Cullen, and Thomas D. Boswell, *The Changing Demography of Spanish Americans* (New York: Academic Press, 1980), pp. 267-277.

(5) Ibid., p. 13.

(6) Dr. Lisandro Perez, Associate Professor of Sociology, Florida International University, and a noted authority on Cuban-Americans, is also of the opinion that the New Jersey and New York Pre-Mariel Cubans are similar to each other. Interview conducted on July 10, 1984.

(7) Thomas D. Boswell, "The Migration and Distribution of Cubans and Puerto Ricans Living in the United States," *Journal of Geography*, 83:65-72, March-April 1984.

(8) Gary Davis, Carl Haub, and JoAnne Willette, "U.S. Hispanics: Changing the Face of America," *Population Bulletin*, Population Reference Bureau, Inc., Vol. 38, No. 3, June 1983, pp. 38-40.

(9) U.S. Bureau of Census, "Conditions of Hispanics in America Today," Brochure presented at the Hearing of the Subcommittee on Census and Population, House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, September 13, 1983, Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1983, pp. 2-3.

(10) U.S. Bureau of Census, p. K-60, see footnote 1 of this report.

(11) There are a small number of persons (approximately five percent) who were born in Cuba, but were born of American or other foreign parents, who do not consider themselves to be of Cuban descent. These individuals are not considered in this report as being Cuban-Americans. Instead, they are included in one of the other four categories (based on their own preferences for classification).

(12) Richard L. Nostrand, "The Hispano Homeland in 1900," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 70:382-396, 1980; and Richard L. Nostrand, "Hispano Cultural Distinctiveness: A Reply," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 74:164-171, 1984.

(13) Jaffe, Cullen, and Boswell, pp. 83-117, see footnote 6 of this report.

(14) Davis, Haub, and Willette, p. 13, see footnote 8 of this report; and William A. Diaz, "Hispanics: Challenges and Opportunities," A Working Paper from the Ford Foundation, New York: Ford Foundation, Office of Reports, June 1984.

(15) U.S. Bureau of Census, *Public-Use Microdata Sample A, One-in-a-Thousand Sample for the United States*, Washington, D.C., U.S. Bureau of the Census, Data User Services Division, 1983.

(16) U.S. Bureau of Census, p. 6, see footnote 3 of this report.

(17) Thomas D. Boswell, "The Growth and Proportional Redistribution of the Mexican Stock Population in the United States: 1910-1970," *The Mississippi Geographer*, 7:57-76, 1979; and Thomas D. Boswell, "Inferences Concerning the Distribution of the Mexican American Population 1910 to 1970," *Revista Geografica*, 83:67-86, 1975.

(18) U.S. Bureau of Census, p. 6, see footnote 3 of this report.

(19) Thomas D. Boswell, "Puerto Ricans Living in the United States," chapter in Jesse O. Mckee (ed.), *Ethnicity in Contemporary America* (Dubuque: KendallíHunt, 1984); and Thomas D. Boswell, "The Migration and Distribution of Cubans and Puerto Ricans Living in the United States," *Journal of Geography*, 83:65-72, 1984.

(20) Thomas D. Boswell, "Cuban-Americans," chapter in Jesse O. Mckee (ed.), *Ethnicity in Contemporary America*, (Dubuque: Kendall-Hunt, 1984); and Thomas D. Boswell, "The Migration and Distribution of Cubans and Puerto Ricans Living in the United States," Ibid., see footnote 19 of this report.

(21) Davis, Haub, and Willette, p. 13, see footnote 8 of this report; and Diaz, pp. 15-16, see footnote 14 of this report.

(22) U.S. Bureau of Census, *1980 Census of Population*, United States Summary, "General Population Characteristics," Part 1, PC80-1-B1 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, May 1983), Table 39.

(23) Ibid.

(24) Sergio Diaz-Briquets and Lisandro Perez, "Cuba: The Demography of Revolution," *Population Bulletin*, Population Reference Bureau, Inc., Vol. 36, No. 1, April 1981, pp. 31-32.

(25) Juan M. Clark, Jose L. Lasaga, and Rose S. Reque, "The Mariel Exodus: An Assessment and Prospect," (Washington, D.C.: Council for Inter-American Security, A Special Report, 1981).

(26) Thomas D. Boswell and James R. Curtis, *The Cuban-American Experience. Culture, Images and Perspectives* (Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman and Allanheld, 1983), p. 102.

(27) Diaz-Briquets and Perez, pp. 30-31, see footnote 24 of this report.

(28) We have decided to discuss the topic of race within the section of this paper labeled physiological characteristics. We have done this because most American social scientists regard race as being a physical concept, although attitudes towards race may be cultural or social in nature.

(29) Robert C. West and John P. Augelli, *Middle America: Its Lands and Peoples* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1976), pp. 401-402.

(30) U.S. Bureau of Census, p. K-60, see footnote 1 of this report.

(31) Benigno E. Aguirre, "Differential Migration of Cuban Social Races," *Latin American Research Review*, 11:103-124, 1976.

(32) Clark, Lasaga, and Reque, see footnote 25 of this report; and Guy Gugliotta, "Who Are They? Boatloads Salted With Criminals," *The Cuban Exodus, The Miami Herald* Special Reprint, December 1980, p. 2.

(33) The topics of spatial mobility and citizenship are being discussed in the same section because one of the elements of spatial mobility is immigration, and citizenship status is strongly related to immigration.

(34) Curtis C. Roseman, "Migration As a Spatial and Temporal Process," *Annals of the American Association of Geographers*, 61:589-598, 1971.

(35) Loc. cit.

(36) U.S. Bureau of Census, P. K-64, see footnote 1 of this report.

(37) Rafael J. Projias and Lourdes Casal, *The Cuban Minority in the United States: Preliminary Report on Need Identification and Program Evaluation* (Miami: 1973), pp. 117-120; Aida Thomas Levitan, "Hispanics in Dade County: Their Characteristics and Needs" (Miami: Latin Affairs, Office of County Manager, Metropolitan Dade County, printed report, Spring 1980), p. 43; and "Latins Now Are Living All Over Dade," *The Miami Herald*, July 2, 1978, p. 22A.

(38) Boswell and Curtis, pp. 38-60, see footnote 26 of this report.

(39) Loc. cit.

(40) Jaffe, Cullen, and Boswell, pp. 245-278, see footnote 6 of this report.

(41) Helga Silva, "Hispanic Officials Change Face of City Governments," *The Miami Herald*, May 18, 1984, p. 1C; James Kelly, "Trouble in Paradise: South Florida Hit by A Hurricane of Crime, Drugs and Refugees," *Time*, 118:22-32, November 23, 1981; and William Amlong, "Politics Cuban-Style Rule Miami," *The Miami Herald*, May 5, 1981, p. 1B.

(42) Alejandro Portes, Juan M. Clark, and Robert L. Bach, "The New Wave: A Statistical Profile of Recent Cuban Exiles to the United States," *Cuban Studies*, 7:1-32, 1977, and Alejandro Portes, Juan M. Clark, and Manuel M. Lopez, "Six Years Later, the Process of Incorporation of Cuban Exiles in the United States: 1973-1979," *Cuban Studies*, 11:1-24, 1982.

(43) Luis Feldstein Soto, "Cubans Still Prefer Native Language, New Survey Shows," *The Miami Herald*, September 27, 1984, p. 2D.

(44) Boswell and Curtis, pp. 104-106, see footnote 26 of this report.

(45) Lisandro Perez, "The Cuban Population of the United States: The Results of the 1980 U.S. Census of Population," Latin American and Caribbean Center, Occasional Papers Series, Dialogue á40, Florida International University, Miami, 1984, pp. 10-12.

(46) Boswell and Curtis, op. cit., pp. 38-60.

(47) U.S. Bureau of Census, pp. K-33 to K-36, see footnote 1 of this report.

(48) Perez, op. cit., p. 9.

(49) B. E. Aguirre, "The Marital Stability of Cubans in the United States," *Ethnicity*, 8:387-405, 1981.

(50) Jaffe, Cullen, and Boswell, pp. 245-278, see footnote 6 of this report.

(51) Sergio Diaz-Briquets and Lisandro Perez, "Fertility Decline in Cuba: A Socioeconomic Interpretation," *Population and Development Review*, 8:513-537, 1982.

(52) Jaffe, Cullen, and Boswell, pp. 245-278, see footnote 6 of this report.

(53) Boswell, p. 58, see footnote 2 of this report.

(54) Eleanore Meyer Rogg, *The Assimilation of Cuban Exiles: The Role of Community and Class* (New York: Aberdeen Press, 1974), pp. 2-5.

(55) Jaffe, Cullen, and Boswell, pp. 267-277, see footnote 6 of this report.

(56) Boswell, pp. 45-54, see footnote 2 of this report.

(57) Ability to speak English is being used in this study as a variable in determining socioeconomic rank because it is clear that Hispanics who are fluent in English have clear social and economic advantages over those who do not speak this language well. Generally speaking,

facility with English is positively associated with the socioeconomic status of Hispanic individuals living in the United States.

(58) Boswell and Curtis, pp. 45-54, see footnote 26 of this report.

(59) Boswell, "Puerto Ricans Living in the United States," see footnote 19 of this report; and Jaffe, Cullen, and Boswell, pp. 228-238, see footnote 6 of this report.

(60) It is relevant to note that when a one-point ranking system was used, as a comparison with the three-point system being used in this report, the composite SES scores indicated a ranking identical to ours (Florida Cubans = 2.8; New Jersey-New York Cubans = 1.8; and the Rest of the U.S. Cubans = 1.4). The only difference was that with the one-point system the New Jersey-New York Cubans appeared to be more similar to the Rest of the U.S. Cubans than they were to the Cubans living in Florida. Because this seems incorrect to us, we offer this as additional evidence in support of the utility of our three-point ranking system.

(61) Boswell, Diaz, and Perez, pp. 29-41, see footnote 6 of this report.

(62) U.S. Bureau of Census, "Conditions of Hispanics in America Today," see footnote 9 of this report.

(63) Boswell and Curtis, pp. 189-192, see footnote 26 of this report.

(64) Thomas D. Boswell and Manuel Rivero, "A Bibliography of Sources Dealing with the Refugees from Mariel, Cuba," report submitted to the Community Relations Service, U.S. Department of Justice, Chevy Chase, Maryland, 1984.

(65) Clark, Lasaga, and Reque, see footnote 25 of this report.

(66) Robert L. Bach, "The New Cuban Immigrants: Their Background and Prospects," *Monthly Labor Review*, 103:39-46, October 1980.

APPENDIX

Methodology Used in The Ranking System

A three-point ranking system has been developed. That is, there is a three-point spread within each rank class. For instance, the top rank class has scores ranging from one to three, the second has scores ranging from four to six, and the lowest class has scores ranging between thirteen and fifteen. A three-point system such as this allows for a more detailed representation of a group's standing relative to the others, just as pluses and minuses do for an academic grading system. For instance, the non-Hispanics clearly have the greatest facility with speaking English, so for this variable they received a score of two. On the other hand, when the variable being considered is the percent employed in executive, administrative, managerial, and professional occupations, the non-Hispanics are only slightly ahead of Cubans (who rank second). As a result, the non-Hispanics have been assigned a score of three, while the Cubans received a four. Sometimes it is necessary to improvise with this system when three or more of the population components are very similar with respect to a given variable. This was the situation for the education variable. Here the non-Hispanics, Other Spanish, and Cubans are very similar in terms of their median highest grades. It was decided to assign a score of three to the Non-Hispanics, but the Other Spanish and Cubans were given the same score of four because they were virtually identical in their high educational attainments. Since all three were so similar, only one point separated their scores. The composite socioeconomic (SES) scores were calculated by adding the five variable scores for each population component and dividing by five, thus deriving an average value for the variable scores. In interpreting these figures it should be noted that there is an inverse relationship between the SES scores and SES status.

That is the lower the score, the higher the status. It is also relevant to note that two indexes of income are being employed through use of the fourth and fifth variables. Although each represents a different aspect of income, in effect income is being given a double weight. The reason for this is that some measure of income is the variable that has most often been used in determining levels of economic well-being in other studies. Admittedly, this is a subjectivce system of determining the rankings of the five populations being studied in this report. One area of subjectivity is in the selection of the five variables being used. Other researchers might select other variables. Also, the procedure used for determining a population component's rank for a given variable is subjective, since a decision must be reached regarding which of three possible numeric values within a given rank it will be assigned. Nevertheless, we feel that this system is valid. In fact, if a single-point ranking system (where the possible scores weould be 1, 2, 3, 4, or 5 for a given variable) is used instead, the comparative results of the composite scores are virtually identical (non-Hispanics = 1.0, Mexicans = 4.6, Puerto Ricans = 3.8, Cubans = 2.7, and Other Spanish = 2.9). The advantage of the three-point system is that it allows some semblance of a weak interval scale, as opposed to the strictly ordinal character of the one-point system. For instance, we think that the greater distance between the composite scores for the non-Hispanics and Mexicans under the three-point system is reflective of the true social distance between these two population components.

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